

RADIO ADDRESS BY NGUYEN TON HOAN,
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR PACIFICATION, GOVERNMENT OF VIET-NAM
DELIVERED ON MARCH 21, 1964

"THE REVOLUTION AND THE PEOPLE"

Dear Compatriots,

Today, I would like to talk to you, dear compatriots, as a nationalist combatant and not as a government official.

As you are perfectly well aware, in the nation's present situation, the mission of pacification is extremely difficult and heavy. Therefore, more than ever I hope to gain your comprehension and support.

The following phrase written by a press correspondent is quite appropriate: "An efficient government is very useful to the people; but to be efficient, any government must rely on the popular support."

I hope that the sincerity, the good-will and the efforts of the government and of myself will help the government win the people's sympathy and support. I do hope with great confidence because, after 20 years of struggle as a citizen, I realize that although they are rigorous in their criticism, the Vietnamese people are also very generous when they realize that their sympathy and support are not misplaced.

This confidence encourages me in my utmost effort to fulfill the heavy responsibilities entrusted to me.

Today, while talking to you in sincerity and a spirit of good will, I take the liberty to explain to you the mission of national pacification in this period of dissension and civil war.

First of all, I would like you to realize the following fact:

From the Geneva Agreement up to the present, South Vietnam never has had aggressive thoughts or actions against North Vietnam. If the country is involved in a nagging civil war, it is because of the Viet Cong and Communists' voluntary and firm decision to bring the war to South Vietnam. That is not to say that I hate

March 21, 1964

those Vietnamese compatriots who are within the ranks of the VC, killing us day and night. I am not blindly resentful against them for the following reasons:

Firstly - Before considering the guerrilla as an enemy, we must not forget that he is our compatriot. To hate a compatriot is an attitude contrary to the spirit of genuine nationalists. I have never had this feeling in mind. With compatriots, despite the seriousness of the civil war and dissension, even if my own life is threatened, I always defend myself with the back of the sword and do not attack with its sharp edge.

Secondly - Up to the present, within the insurgent ranks, Communists are in minority, because most of these people are misguided elements who had been exploited and abused. I am only the enemy of the Communists and never hate misguided elements, because, according in my opinion, they are nationalist ones.

Dear Compatriots,

Having such a concept of my responsibilities, I think that to be successful in my mission of pacification, I must have as my objective a reconciliation between compatriots.

How to realize this reconciliation?

Before exposing my point of view, I take the liberty of recalling the following fact:

- The real provoker of the war is North Viet-Nam, and for many years, South Viet-Nam, unwillingly, has been forced to combat for its self-defense.

Actually the North Vietnamese Communists, in collusion with the Colonialists, are calling for peace in order to continue their false propaganda. I can affirm that this is the Communists' trick because while they are calling for a cease-fire, for peace, they intensify their destructive and murderous activities instead of withdrawing beyond the demarcation line. With their sense of justice, compatriots can judge for themselves: How can we do otherwise in our situation

March 21, 1964

than to defend ourselves when attacked and seek by every means to reverse the situation?

Decidedly, we have to fight in self-defense; but the pacification work does not consist only of this passive attitude. The Revolutionary Government will make every effort to make our administrative machinery cleaner and healthier. This task is long and difficult but I am confident that with our determination and good will the revolution will achieve this noble objective.

At the same time, there will be reorganizations in the economic field so that compatriots in South Vietnam can enjoy satisfactory living conditions. I would like to act and not make hollow promises.

So I only promise you to do my best to bring a pleasant life to peasants and workers.

Finally, the Government and I assert to you that despite the unfavorable situation of a nation in a state of war, we will make every effort to create favorable conditions for the building of basic organizations for a genuinely free and democratic regime.

These are long and exacting tasks but you can be confident of the determination and good will of the government and of myself. I do pledge that.

Dear Compatriots,

Our fratricidal struggle is, first of all, a political one, a competition for the people's hearts. Although it is a necessary factor, force is not the only condition of success.

A healthy administrative machinery; a sufficient and pleasant life for all compatriots; a democratic regime in which there is no venality, but respect for freedom and human dignity is frankly observed; these are the objectives of every genuine nationalist. On the opposite side, the paradise promised in communist propaganda is but an unrealizable illusion. The proof is that, at this time, when I am talking to you, compa-

March 21, 1964

triot's on the other side of the Ben Hai river, in North Viet-Nam, are suffering a miserable life: they receive 17.6 pounds of rice, 4.4 pounds of corn, and less than one-half pound of meat monthly.

Contrary to communist propaganda, the South Vietnamese Government, therefore, with all its good will and sincerity, is making every effort to bring happiness and genuine freedom to you.

By that moment, you will have concrete proof enabling you to realize the difference between Sincerity and Trickery, and between the Just Cause and the Evil Doctrine. I am confident that by that time, a great many of combatants of the other side will repent of their action and will return to our cause.

Killing people, and particularly killing compatriots will not solve the problem. Our nationalist side will triumph over the Communists only in this way: by winning the people's hearts.

In the present situation, whether they are willing or not, nationalists under attack must counterattack for their self-defense. This fact is undeniable proof that the just cause belongs to the nationalists who will surely win the war.

I am confident that throughout Viet-Nam compatriots think of and agree with the point of view I had just described. This confidence gives me great encouragement in my efforts, having realized that I am progressing in the right direction and will be understood and supported by all compatriots.

Now, I conclude my talk and in thanking you, dear compatriots, I promise to meet with you each Saturday.

Good bye, Dear Compatriots.

RADIO ADDRESS BY NGUYEN TON HOAN,
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FOR PACIFICATION, GOVERNMENT OF VIET-NAM
DELIVERED ON MARCH 28, 1964

"BUILDING AND DEFENSE OF FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY"

Dear Compatriots,

Dear Revolutionary Cadres,

Today, I am talking to you for the second time, and, once more, I take the liberty of recalling that I would like to talk in the capacity of a revolutionary cadre struggling for the nationalist ideal and not appeal to you as an unfamiliar government official.

I have such a desire because we consider the government as a "means" and not as an "objective."

Therefore, in these talks, you will not hear affected speeches but rather statements from a person concerned about national affairs.

Dear Compatriots,

The Vietnamese people have heroically fought against the Colonialists for independence; they have courageously hurled themselves at the guns of the Ngo family in order to gain freedom. Actually, a number of others are facing the Communists with enthusiasm since they realize that once in Communists' hands, they will lose freedom for ever.

Through thousands of years of history, with many ups-and-downs, our traditionally freedom-loving spirit has never failed. For freedom, our ancestors made many sacrifices; for it, we ourselves are enduring many sufferings; and in the future, our children must have the chance to enjoy freedom and to live a decent life, worthy of human beings.

This leads us to the following natural conclusion:

We cannot achieve freedom through obsequious beseechings. We have to struggle hard to win it. And, once achieved, we must strengthen, consolidate and safeguard it.

March 28, 1964.

If we do not increase our vigilance, and unceasingly consolidate and safeguard freedom, we will lose it some future day to certain groups of dictators and oppressors.

Even though this may bother you, I fearlessly and frankly have to make the following remarks: When they are not free, the Vietnamese people struggle heroically and make sacrifices; but once they obtain freedom, they become indifferent, more than any other people.

We have been closely united side by side in overthrowing the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, creating a movement comparable to that of the early days of the resistance war. But, once we have liquidated the dictatorial regime which oppressed us for a long time, most of our compatriots quickly returned to their former passive role.

You are eager for freedom. You claim freedom. But you entertain the misunderstanding that to win freedom, to consolidate and to safeguard it, are the government's duty and that the people do not have any responsibility for it.

This is a very harmful concept.

In my capacity as a party-man and a government official, I must frankly tell you: If you do not engage in politics, somebody else will. This is an unavoidable fact. Sometimes, the results may be satisfactory. But, what about when it is harmful?

I admit that the Revolutionary Government has the duty of guaranteeing the freedom of compatriots but we must not forget that our country is actually "building" freedom, an enterprise which requires the participation of the entire population. The government, in isolation, cannot record satisfactory and hoped-for results.

A press correspondent has written: "If a government is efficient, its people will enjoy the profits; but to be efficient, a government must always be supported by its people."

I would like to "open my heart" in recalling to you the above statement.

March 28, 1964

If there is no government, nobody will administer national affairs, but in a government without popular support national affairs will some day fall into the hands of dictators.

In the present situation, the government and the people share the same aspiration. They both hope for a genuinely free and democratic regime. But, to obtain democracy and freedom, a condition is necessary in this preparatory period. This condition is the people's concept of politics. Someone has said: Let us promulgate a democratic constitution and show respect for it, and democracy will naturally follow. There is no need for popular consciousness of politics." Another has said: "We must have democratic people prior to promulgating democracy."

Hens lay eggs; but, conversely, chickens are generated from eggs. The people and the government are both necessary to the nation's freedom and democracy.

Day and night we are making every effort to fulfill our mission. But, at the same time, we earnestly request the people to realize their responsibility as citizens in this difficult period of construction.

Dear Compatriots,

Because of my concept that government is only a means, I will never seek to stay in power and consolidate my position. If the government is a vehicle which helps me in realizing the nation's and the people's interest, I will stay in office. But if I could be useful to compatriots by struggling in my capacity as an ordinary citizen, you will see that, someday, unexpectedly I will return to the ranks of so many combatants who, throughout the country, are secretly making sacrifices for the glory of the nation and the survival of the people.

Whether as combatant or government official, before public opinion and before the severe regard of all other patriots, I can assure you that despite changes, however great they might be, I shall never change my feelings.

March 28, 1964.

Toward compatriots, I remain a citizen as thousands of others. Toward cadres of patriotic organizations which are struggling for the country, I shall always remain a loyal combatant. I sincerely tell you that, because I am confident that my personal dignity and value rest on these points.

Because of this concept I shall always tell you in my talks my sincere feelings, that in previous regimes a government official never wished to or dared say.

I am convinced that in this period of mixed loyalties, only the utmost sincerity can bring to the government and to myself some part of the people's confidence. I wish to get the popular confidence, not in order to stay in power, but this confidence in the government will give me favorable conditions to serve the people more efficiently.

I am sure that you understand my feelings as well as I understand yours. I close my talk today in repeating that: A government is necessary for the administration of national affairs; but, reversely, the success of national affairs depends on the regard and the will of the population.

The French have a saying: "Democracy is one thing, Government is quite another."

I would like to leave this statement with you so as a subject for consideration.

Good bye and see you again next week.

RADIO ADDRESS

By Nguyen Ton Hoan, Deputy Prime Minister for Pacification,
Government of Viet-Nam
Delivered on April 12, 1964

"Soldiers and Revolution"

Officers and soldiers of all ranks, I must say right now that the greater part of the heavy responsibility of the pacification task is being placed upon your shoulders. I must say right now that your responsibility is an important and historic responsibility having a decisive influence. So far, communist propaganda has constantly slandered that you are only mercenaries. Even a large number of our compatriots, poisoned by communist propaganda, have misunderstood you. However, you can be proud of the fact that history and many revolutionaries in Viet-Nam have never misunderstood you. You have to fight on the front line and to bear all the attacks of the communist forces while receiving only a relatively low salary. Your permanent sacrifice is seen only by few people because it is discreet and quiet. That is why a number of persons, who wait only for reports of victories, criticize you each time you participate in some sort of entertainment after returning from deadly fighting. But we must admit, in your favor, a truth that all clear-sighted men must admit.

In return, however, you and we must sincerely and quietly admit that our army is not yet completely and strictly fit for the present task. We must exert greater efforts in both the material and intellectual fields in order to advance toward becoming a truly revolutionary army capable of fulfilling quickly the task of national salvation that history has entrusted to us during this period of boiling oil and burning fire.

In today's personal talk, we want to affectionately remind you of a revolutionary principle: to make sacrifices in order to struggle against something is not enough; to fight efficiently, we must have the belief that we struggle to build something for our compatriots and our country. What should we do? First of all, you must have a more progressive and revolutionary concept about anticommunism.

You know

- 10 -

You know only too well that the war we are enduring now is a political war. The victory will belong to the side that can win the people's hearts, that can win over the compatriots. That is why you must realize that weapons are not the decisive factor. In addition to big weapons and ammunition, you must know how to handle the sentimental weapon. For generations, our Vietnamese compatriots have suffered oppression from several groups. That is why they fear and suspect those who have weapons.

At the present time, a truly revolutionary nationalist soldier has the duty to be grateful and polite. He must not be overbearing and rely on authority. By so doing, you will surely be able to win the people's hearts quickly. We can say this because experiences show that, even though our compatriots are often severe in their criticism, they are always generous and can understand us easily. A polite greeting, a friendly smile, a just and humanitarian act, a democratic attitude, is sufficient to win the sympathy of many compatriots. Once the compatriots are sympathetic with us, they will help us in many fields, thereby facilitating the achievement of our anticommunist task. This is a great advantage to which you must pay special attention.

The second point is that political understanding is necessary for revolutionary soldiers who are having to face a political war. We must sincerely admit that to combat communism it is insufficient to have weapons only. You must study--study night and day--to heighten your cultural level so that later you can understand the avoidable shortcomings of communist theory and doctrine. This understanding will quickly strengthen your determination to combat communism.

At the same time, it is advisable that you closely follow the development of the international and national situation. This knowledge helps us to easily discern the falseness and cunningness of the propaganda of the communists, the crooked people who have taken advantage of the illiteracy of a number of compatriots for so long. This knowledge is

very necessary.

- 11 -

very necessary. It gives us the firm belief that we are struggling and constantly facing death for the sake of justice. It gives us the firm belief that all our suffering and sacrifices are what revolutionaries must happily share so that the fatherland and the nation can survive forever.

Finally, you also need to study nationalism and arm yourselves with a theoretical knowledge so that you can combat communist propaganda more efficiently. Applying a dictatorial party-rule system and advocating the necessity to brainwash everyone, the communists have forced their soldiers to study communist doctrine. We are achieving democracy and are respecting human freedoms. We cannot imitate the communists and force you to study. However, this theoretical study by our soldiers is the number one task, a very necessary task. Thus, we hope that, conscious of this importance, you will study by yourselves with the help of the government. Only by so doing can we fight efficiently. After fighting the enemy with weapons, we must prepare for ourselves a sharp tongue in order to face the communists on the propaganda front.

Armed with an improved knowledge, nationalist soldiers have made an important and praiseworthy step forward. But this is insufficient. The majority of our compatriots, especially our compatriots in the rural areas, have a restricted knowledge.

This situation is a shortcoming which the communists have continuously taken advantage of to win them over to their side with their false propaganda and to get them to oppose us. Faced with this regrettable situation, nationalist soldiers must take advantage of every contact with the compatriots to share their knowledge with the compatriots.

We must calmly admit this point: In many cases, the compatriots oppose us because they are deeply poisoned by communist propaganda. Thus, in addition to the job of fighting with weapons, revolutionary and patriotic soldiers

must

- 12 -

must voluntarily assume the responsibilities of cadres of the masses, propaganda cadres. The communists have forced us to engage in a comprehensive war. That is why, willingly or unwillingly, our soldiers must fight this war in all fields, using both weapons and political knowledge. We are convinced that, having sufficient good will, having a great sense of sacrifice, having the determination to serve the country, you will exert efforts and succeed easily. This conviction fills us with great optimism. We want to end today's talk with a greeting of sure victory and make an appointment for next Sunday.

IV. Excerpts from a Press Conference on April 13, 1964
in Which Prime Minister Nguyen Khanh and Members
of His Cabinet Participated

In a press conference on April 12 Prime Minister Khanh denied that he aimed at establishing himself as a dictator. As evidence that this was untrue, he cited the recent enlargement of the Military Revolutionary Council to include broader representation of armed forces units, and his recent announcement that a constituent assembly would be elected in four to six months. He noted that the army was inherently democratic in giving equal treatment to all.

Deputy Prime Minister for Pacification Nguyen Ton Hoan, in answer to a newsman's question, said that the resignation of Ha Thuc Ky, former Minister of the Interior, did not indicate there was a split in the government that could lead to a crisis. As a leading Dai Viet Party leader, Hoan said that he regarded General Khanh as a man dedicated to democracy, and said that his party and the Prime Minister "were never closer".

On trials of former government officials and others accused of criminal activities under the old regime, Khanh said all would be accorded due process of law. The Revolutionary Tribunal set up to try such persons was expected to complete its work within three months.